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AUTHOR Torney, Judith V.; Hess, Robert D.
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ABSTRACT

Distinctions between political socialization as beliefs about ideals, beliefs about the realities of governmental structure, as attempts at cognitive consistency, and as affective orientations toward the system, map out most children's political orientations. The objects of these orientations are: 1) America as a nation and patriotic attachment; 2) government institutions and their personal representatives; 3) role of citizens as they comply with laws and participate in the democratic process; and, 4) elections and political parties as organizers of conflict. The paper focuses on a description of the changes occuring with age in elementary school children along with considerations of the schools' roles in the process. Included also are sections on: the factors that produce differences between childrens' attitudes and the ways teachers and parents participate in the socialization process; the characteristics of children that influence political socialization; and, models of the socialization process. (DJB)

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Teachers, Students, and Political Attitude Development

By Judith V. Torney and Robert D. Hess

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TEACHERS, STUDENTS, AND POLITICAL ATTITUDE DEVELOPMENT[1]

Judith V. Torney[2] and Robert D. Hess[3]

To some observers of the current scene, it seems that a tremendous gap exists between the social studies classroom and realities in the world of moon flights, student unrest, and international political ferment. Parents frequently seem ambivalent about approaches to the "new social studies;" there is continuing pressure by some to make social studies relevant and by others to return to well established convictions. Teachers may feel encouraged by social scientists to teach certain values and skills; at the same time, they are cautioned by the community to refrain from expressing, within the classroom, opinions which may be controversial or contrary to prevailing opinion. This network of cross pressure probably contributes to the great diversity which exists in social studies classrooms--in the methods of teaching, types of curriculum, purposes for evaluation, and extent of student involvement.

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[1] Some of the data referred to in this paper is presented in greater detail in The Development of Political Attitudes in Children. Chicago, Ill.; Aldine Publishing Co., 1967, by Robert D. Hess and Judith Torney, reprinted in 1968 by Doubleday-Anchor. The research was supported by the Office of Education, Cooperative Research Project 1078, (Robert D. Hess and David Easton, Senior Co-Directors) and was done at the University of Chicago. Supplementary data analysis was supported by the Office of Education Small Contract S-209 and is reported in "Structural Dimensions of Children's Political Attitude-Concept Systems: A Study of Developmental and Measurement Aspects," Judith Torney's dissertation. Additional time provided by a faculty fellowship to Judith Torney from the Illinois Institute of Technology and permission from Donald Super to use tables to be included in report of The Cross National Conference on Relating the Educational System to the National Economy are gratefully acknowledged.

[2] College of Education, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

[3] School of Education, Stanford University

Among the results of social scientists' recent involvement in elementary and secondary education are several research studies which are being interpreted with specific recommendations for the development of curriculum and for the orientations of teachers of social studies. Political socialization, which is concerned with the introduction of children to political attitudes, behavior and roles, is one of the most important contemporary fields falling into this category. Teachers and administrators become increasingly interested in this field as they see its potential for understanding some of the most basic values held by their students, as it contributes to their own understanding of their role in socialization as part of education, and as it helps them to crystalize their own approaches to their subject matter. Dialogues between political scientists, members of education faculties, psychologists, social critics and school administrators are being cultivated (Harvard Educational Review, Summer, 1968). Among the points to be raised in this chapter are the ways in which children become oriented to the political system and developmental changes in these orientations (toward national feeling, attachment to figures and institutions, laws, citizen influence on the government, political parties). The issues of the teacher's role in this process are raised and the many ways in which socialization occurs are pointed out.

Categories of Political Orientation

There are basically four categories useful to the educator in understanding civics involvement. The first category includes the development of beliefs and knowledge about the political system and process as it would operate in the ideal situation (frequently as it is designated in the constitution or written law). Much of traditional civics curriculum falls into this category. This includes some information about structure--the number of members of the United States Senate; political process is also discussed--the prescribed route of a bill from introduction to passage. There are even slogans which impart this information--"the best man wins in an election," "Congress formulates the law of the land." Children hold many of these ideals about how the government should operate very strongly.

Secondly, there is knowledge and belief about the political process and structure as the child knows it to exist in real life. This material may arise in the classroom most frequently at the time of a national or local election, when children are presenting current events from the newspaper, or when children are discussing their own or their parents' experiences in dealing with political authority like building inspectors or policemen. Discussion of the realities of political life are not necessarily connected with curriculum content which is labeled social studies or civics. The third type of civics involvement is one which may be only unconsciously perceived and dealt with by teachers in the public schools. This is the emotionality which surrounds political issues. The discovery and discussion of political realities frequently generates a great deal of emotion. Of course, there is more reason for adults than for children to be emotionally involved in politics, but there is evidence that elementary school children (starting about grade 3--at least in the middle class) have considerable affective involvement in the choice of a presidential candidate. This is true although their candidate preference may not show consistency with any idea of political parties, and they may marshal unusual arguments for their candidates. These candidate preferences are relatively stable over tine and result also in a great curiosity on the part of the children about the candidate preference of adults they know (teachers, parents of playmates, etc.). They are challenged and intrigued by the conflict implied by differing allegiances and opinions. Adults frequently oblige the curiosity of their children by engaging in heated political arguments (which may later be subject to challenge by their offspring).

One may also observe considerable emotion in young children's patriotism and national feeling. One's country is simply superior to other countries--one is more familiar with it; one knows the language; one trusts the leaders; one respects its flag (and woe betide anyone who allows it to touch the ground). These feelings seem to be like the growth of group allegiance--highly similar in some ways to the child's identification with his family. Certainly, the child receives a relatively consistent message from various agents of socialization about the attitude toward America he is expected to adopt. Also, great meaning is attached to symbols in this part of socialization. In addition, some children are interested in current issues involving conflict--dissent over Viet Nam, riots. This has a highly emotional quality too.

Finally, many investigators in this field have been impressed with the ways in which children elaborate their viewpoints as they express them and make them hang together in coherent units with clear underlying assumptions.

These distinctions between political socialization as beliefs about ideals, beliefs about realities of governmental structure, affective orientations toward the system, and attempts at cognitive consistency map out most children's political orientations. It is important to stress the commitment of a majority of investigators in this field ~~to a definition~~ of political socialization which is broader than children's acquisition of political party membership. In the original publication (Hess and Torney, 1967), the objects about which the child develops ideals, beliefs about structure, affective orientations, and elaborated viewpoints were divided into four general categories:

1. America as a nation, patriotic attachment.
2. Governmental institutions and their personal representatives.
3. Role of citizen including complying with law and being a participant in democratic influence process with regard to certain issues.
4. Elections and political parties as organizers of conflict.

Within each of these areas, ideas, beliefs, and affective orientations develop as the child assimilates a role which is influential indetermining his future role in the political system.

Part of what is important to know about objects in the various categories of civics education is descriptive. What attitudes or affective responses about the political system does the student develop?

How is a second grader different from an eighth grader in his attitudes toward the policeman? With what symbols does he conceptualize the government and on what level of concreteness or abstraction? What types of citizen action does the child see as legitimate--which are not legitimate? How does he believe he ought to act in meeting the demands for obedience determined by the system? A teacher's interest in this description may be whetted from time to time by brief discussions with children in her classes--when she realizes the assumptions they make which are foreign to adults; our attempt has been to map these attitudes in a more systematic way and to indicate the changes which take place with age.

Major Research in Political Socialization

One of the major studies on the development of children's political attitudes began at the University of Chicago in the late 1950's. Approzimately 12,000 children in the elementary school grades 2 through 8 (ages approximately 7 through 14) were selected for testing from one large city and one small city of each major region of the United States. These children, approximately 1,500 from each city, answered an hour-long questionnaire during the period from December, 1961 through May, 1962.[1] Details of this study are presented in Hess and Torney (1967). In addition to the questionnaire material, information about the children's IQ was collected from school records (different tests converted to a common scale), and father's occupation was recorded. The children's teachers answered a questionnaire similar to that administered to the children as well as describing their curriculum practices in a separate questionnaire. Much of the material coming from this study is of interest because of what it indicates about the content of children's political and social attitudes, and the way these views change over the elementary school years. Although now several years old, the findings from this study when checked with parts of current studies, suggest that while certain political objects have changed; the process and developmental changes which are part of political socialization remain highly similar. The definition of political attitudes adopted in this and other recent studies, extends to many matters not usually considered political--how children are taught obedience to legal authority, and positive national feelings, for example.

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[1] Second and third grade children answered a form substantially shorter than that given to older children.

A second major nationwide survey was conducted with high school students in 1965 by the Survey Research Center in Ann Arbor, Michigan (Langton and Jennings, 1968; Jennings and Niemi, 1968a; Jennings and Niemi, 1968b). Nearly 1,700 students, as well as parents, teachers, and school officials, were interviewed. This study investigated a number of aspects of partisanship, political activity, usage of mass media, cynicism about government, attitudes toward specific issues. Publications from this study have stressed the role of high school rather than elementary school in political socialization. The focus has been rather directly upon political issues and party memberships.

A number of other investigators have conducted studies unique in their contribution to this area: Greenstein (1965) whose work on presidential images in New Haven school children was substantial in the field's early development; Easton and Dennis (1969) who have examined the data of the Chicago project from the point of view of its implications for the political system; Adelson and O'Neil (1966,1969) who used an imaginative interview focusing upon adolescent ideas about political organization on a desert island; Sigel (1965) who focused one of her studies upon children's reactions to the assassination of President Kennedy and another which surveyed the children over a period of several years; Jaros, who has studied children from the Kentucky hills, and Dawson and Prewitt(1969) who have provided a substantial review and integration of the present state of the field.[1]

The Development of National Feeling

National feeling or patriotism is developed early and serves as an orienting factor in its influence upon many parts of children's political perceptions. When children were asked why they would rather be American than of another nationality, they gave replies like "I'd rather be an American because I like America better, because we have freedom and I know more people here." In the United States, this emotional feeling of attachment to the nation appears at an early age and undergoes little basic change. Students at all grades tested expressed definite ideas that "America is the best country in the world." Children also associated the concept

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[1] Reprints of a number of important papers have been collected by Adler and Harrington (in press).

"democracy" with America; however, if they could give any definition of democracy, it was often "what we have in America." Children in the early elementary grades in the United States also expressed the opinion that Communism is a threat to our country (and rated it as the most important problem faced by our country), although they could provide little detail about its specific ideology or the nature of the difference between the political systems.

It is possible that feelings about his country as a group to which he belongs may be generalized in part from the child's early membership in his family. He realizes his dependence upon his country as well as upon his family. He refers affectionately to "my family;" he refers to "my country" with similar feelings of dependence. The child feels positively about his country although he may have no clear conceptualization of either its boundaries or government (also reported by Jahoda, 1964). This is a strong affective orientation.

The school provides symbols to support the positive nationalistic attitudes which have been fashioned in a preliminary way before school entry. These attitudes are highly valued by nearly all adults, all institutions, and mass media presentations. Symbols of the nation such as the flag and Statue of Liberty seem important as objects for attachment for the young child, perhaps because they seem to focus his understanding of our country's history and heritage. To investigate the part played by national symbols in political socialization, children were asked to choose the best picture to show what America is; the flag and the Statue of Liberty received the largest number of choices at all grade levels (with the exception of grade 2 where George Washington received the largest number). In contrast, the flag and the Statue of Liberty were infrequently chosen as symbols of the government of America.[1] Even young children seem to make a differentiation between America (their country) and its government.

The youngest children in our sample had already been oriented toward the symbols of America--probably as a result of experiences with T.V., with their parents and in school. More than 99% of the classrooms surveyed displayed the American Flag; more than 90% of the teachers reported that the children said the pledge to the flag daily. Although school may not be the only agent socializing the child into national feelings, class time each day is allotted to foster a sense of awe and submission concerning the symbols of government and to stress group support for national feeling. Teachers need to be aware of the process by which this takes place.

Also, the school almost certainly contributes to the child's elaboration of national feeling with cognitive beliefs and more abstract conceptions. Concrete national symbols are less important for older children. In response to the question "What makes you most proud to be an American?", "freedom" and "right to vote" become increasingly popular responses for older children, approximating the responses of teachers by grade 8.

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[1] When no source is indicated, data come from the Hess and Torney study.

Only in the later grades of elementary school is the United States clearly seen as a member of an international system. This was most dramatically illustrated by changes in response to the question, "Who does most to keep peace in the world, the United States or the United Nations?" Fourteen percent of the second graders chose the United Nations; 87% of the eighth graders and the same proportion of teachers made this choice.

Positive national feeling is characteristic of nearly all primary school children and seems very stable, though certain elaborations remain to be added later. Perhaps teachers in the later grades of elementary school are free to concentrate more fully upon an elaboration of these feelings and to develop a more ideological basis for understanding not only our own country but its relations with other countries as well as the value of diversity in life style, values, and political process existing elsewhere in the world. It seems important, however, to underscore two points: the bases of national feeling are established very early and seem to need little further encouragement in late elementary school; second, within this framework, up to about the age of ten, children have unrealized capability to deal with the diversity existing in other cultures and nations without placing necessary value judgments upon it.

The Development of a Relationship to the Government

Young children sturcture their perceptions of the world in simple and concrete ways. In order to cope with the complexity of a political institution (for which clear and concrete symbols like the flag and Statue of Liberty are not provided), young children view political systems as if they consisted of one or two persons to whom personal relationships can be formed. As children develop emotional attachments to these persons, they become related to the political system in a highly personalized way. To the child, the government is a man who lives in Washington while Congress is "a lot of men who help the President." There is a rapid change with age in the child's conceptualization of the government, particularly a decline with age in choice of the President as the best picture of government and an increase in the choice of Congress or Voting (picture of the ballot box). Nearly 50% of the eighth graders chose these impersonal or institutional aspects as closer to their own idea of the government; 72% of the teachers made these choices. Other researchers who have studied political socialization have come to similar conclusions (Greenstein, 1965); according to the type of community studied and the particular presidential incumbent, there may be some variation. But, in nearly all cases, a personalized rather than system-oriented view of the government is more common for younger than for older children.

Children in viewing personal authority figures in the system also attribute considerable benevolence and kindness to them. (Greenstein, 1965; Sigel, 1968). Hess and Torney also report that children's ratings of the personal characteristics they see in the President and governmental institutions also change during the elementary school period. For example, Tables 1 and 2 present the percentage of children at each of the six grade levels who chose the listed rating for three figures and institutions. Young children feel that they know the President personally, and they feel very positively about him. The average second grade child thought that the President would be nearly as helpful if the child were in trouble as the policeman or his own father would be. Younger children believe that the

TABLE 1

Changes by Grade in Perception of Personal Responsiveness of President, Senator and Supreme Court
(Percentage choosing alternative "Would always want to help me if I need it" for each of 3 figures)

Grade	President	Senator	Supreme Court
4	45.6	19.6	23.6
5	39.5	14.7	21.8
6	34.1	13.3	23.7
7	32.6	10.3	18.1
8	27.2	8.3	24.1
Teachers	25.8	7.8	24.1

Note--N's for students at each grade range from 1299 to 1794; for teachers from 363 to 373.

President is involved both in decisions about whether there should be war and with matters that affect their own neighborhood, such as where stoplights should be installed. In contrast, most students in grade 8 rate the President as much more like impersonal and distant agencies such as the Supreme Court.

Older children can differentiate between the personal characteristics of the President and the types of competence he must have to perform his job. They like him less and expect less personal protection from him, but they have a continuing respect for his executive decision-making abilities (Table 2). This movement with age from belief in the President's personal benevolence to a stress on official function has been found in almost all studies. Greenstein (1965) presents particularly strong corroborating data. Sigel (1968) agrees that this change occurs, although she stresses the existence of some specific political content even in the images of young children.

Table 2
Changes by Grade in Perception of Decision Making of President, Senator, and Supreme Court
(Percentage choosing alternative "Makes important decisions all the time" for each of 3 figures)

Grade	President	Senator	Supreme Court
4	50.6	19.8	29.6
5	51.7	16.8	36.0
6	52.8	17.2	44.2
7	56.0	13.1	87.2
8	58.5	12.1	52.2
Teachers	58.0	11.7	67.6

Note--N's for students at each grade range from 1307 to 1800, for teachers from 372 to 379.

The ratings of the President's role performance which were most frequently chosen by children classified him as "knowing more" and "working harder" than most people, "always a leader," able to "make almost anyone do what he wants," and "making important decisions all the time." The first three ratings were quite constant from the fourth through the eighth grade; ratings of his decision making were slightly higher at the more advanced level. Teachers and eighth graders differed only slightly on these and on the majority of ratings of authority figures.

Jaros (1967;1968) has brought into focus several aspects of the dilemma involved in understanding children's reactions to political authority. He has reemphasized that children's perceptions of the President's power are as important (or more important) than perceptions of benevolent qualities. He has also attempted to understand some of the relationships between childhood experience, certain personality attributes and attitudes toward political authority. Children have important orientations to what they perceive as coercion and figures who hold coercive power.

Jaros also found in data collected in the Appalachian area that children in that region were less likely to have a benevolent image of the President. (Jaros, Hirsch & Fleron; 1968) He concluded that in this type of subgroup of American children the extent of positive attitudes had been overestimated. Because his study was done while Johnson was President (in contrast to those of Hess & Torney and Greenstein), an alternative explanation is that a particular incumbent may influence attitudes.

When the older child focuses on institutions of government which do not have highly visible personal representatives (like the Supreme Court) he sees their leadership and decision making most clearly. There is considerable increase with age in ratings of the Supreme Court and the government on knowledge and decision making. (Table 2 is one example.) Children do not view the Supreme Court as a source of personal protection as they do the President. (Table 1) The increase with age in regard for the office of the Presidency and for institutions whose offices are filled by unknown individuals is an example of the child's acquisition of relationships with roles rather than with persons; this is crucial in maintaining support for a system whose role occupants change. The same is true for the school class where there is a change in teachers each year.

Several other studies including Greenstein(1965) and Jennings &Niemi (1968b) have suggested that pre-adults feel more positively toward the national government that toward levels of government closer to them. In view of this, the position of the Senator is a rather curious one. He is a personal governmental representative but one who is seen as neither very helpful nor very concerned with making important decisions. (Tables 1 and 2.) Children seemed considerably more ready (at least in 1962) to focus their positive feeling about the government onto the President rather than onto the Senator. It is possible that by asking about the average U.S. Senator the personal feeling component may have been lowered. But the decision making is presumably a descriptive characteristic for all senators.

The child's image of the President, though it becomes quite like that held by teachers, seems to develop in the absence of very much specific information, particularly in the school curriculum. Personal figures like the President are important in forming the child's image of the political system to a much greater extent than many realize. In teachers' reports of curriculum made in connection with this study, there is only slightly more emphasis on the President than upon Congress. Sigel (1968) also pointed to the variety of political issues not covered in civics texts which were associated by young children with President Kennedy. The importance of the President in the young child's conceptualization of government does not seem to be determined primarily by classroom learning. It may be influenced in part by the mass media; it probably also reflects the child's tendency to focus upon a personal representative of the political system because he is not cognitively ready to comprehend the abstract institutionalized entity "government." He reduces the information presented to him in school and the mass media, focusing upon that portion of it which matches best with his own needs and interests. He may react to the President in the same way he has learned to react to personal authority in other social systems--teachers and principal in the school and parents in his family. Part of the value of thinking about attitudes toward authority as highly related is to see sources of orientations toward what is currently referred to as the Establishment--some of the sources are rational; others are more difficult to pinpoint.

Teachers need to be particularly aware of the progression in children from personalized to institutionalized and process concepts of government. Children in early elementary school have an attraction to the figure of the President. They appear to be capable of learning about the government if the material is at a level just slightly higher than that at which they are functioning. The teacher needs to aim much of her material at this level. To do this, of course, requires a clearer evaluation of a student's immediate level of attitude and knowledge than is presently available.

The Development of the Role of Citizen

A third major area concerns the behavior of a citizen--both what a child has learned of what a good citizen "should" do and the way a child perceives citizens actually acting within the political system. Political scientists have proposed several tactics for looking at citizen behavior. Almond and Verba (1963) in their study of five nations proposed a distinction between feelings of competence in dealing with government bureaucracy and feelings about one's ability to actually have a law changed. Dawson and Prewitt (1969) point to the fact that children are taught loyalty and obedience by the same persons--making it more likely that they will associate the two. Langton and Jennings (1968) divided the citizen roles emphasized by their high school group into those stressing loyalty and those stressing the importance of citizen participation. They also classified civics text material into these two categories. (Langton & Jennings, 1968). A few very recent studies, reacting to current social trends, have concentrated somewhat more on attitudes to dissent as expressed in demonstrations.

In interviews collected by the Chicago project, young children emphasized personal goodness as the main characteristic of the citizen. "A good citizen is a person whose house is clean and who is polite." The most frequently chosen definitions of the good adult citizen by fourth graders was "someone who helps others" and someone who always obeys laws"; the focus had changed by grade 8 to "someone who votes and gets others to vote" and "someone who is interested in the way the country is run". During elementary school, children come to view the citizen role as a much more politicized one, just as they are viewing the President as a more political and less personal figure.

"Obeying laws" is seen as one of the citizen's important obligations by children of all ages. Children's perceptions of laws and rules of the individuals who enforce them (particularly policemen, parents, and teachers) have diverse links with the political system. Visible authority figures, particularly the President (who is seen as the major national law maker) and the policeman play prominent roles in this phase of socialization.

Two elements of this have particular importance for the socialization that takes place in school. First compliant and obedient roles for children when relating to authority are a basic characteristic of all social systems (except the peer group). It seems quite likely that children learn this basically compliant role--at least at a surface level-- as they live in their families, schools and churches. When they are ready for anticipatory socialization into the political system, they adopt the same type of orientation. It may be useful to think of much of the child's early responses to an unfamiliar social system as a search for similarity to previously encountered social systems. One could set up elaborate models to account for this generalization (based upon similarities of situation as well as upon the degree to which various needs in the child are evoked). But of primary importance is the likelihood of transfer of role behavior. Appropriate behavior learned in the family and the classroom will be taken over into roles in other social systems where the child lacks immediate experience. The classroom must be perceived as a learning environment in which the child acquires deep-seated orientations which may be generalized into other realms, including the political system.

In understanding the child's acquisition of compliant roles, it is also important to note that teachers of primary grades place the greatest stress on duties of the citizen--orientations which fall clearly within the compliance system (see Table 3 for a rating of the amount of time teachers reported spending on these topics). In an analysis of the importance teachers attributed to these topics,

Table 3

Teacher's Description of Curriculum by Grade Taught

(Percentage of Teachers of Grades 2 through 6 who Reported Spending More Than Three Hours of Class Per Year on Each of the Following Sub-Topics in Social Studies)

		Topics								
		Citizen Role			Branches of Government			International Organization	More Controversial Issues	
Grade Taught	N	Duties of Citizen (e.g., to obey law)	Rights of Citizen (e.g., to express opinion)	Citizen's Power to Influence Government	President	Congress	Supreme Court	United Nations	Political Parties	Politicians
2	24	45.8	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
3-4	34	44.1	20.6	6.5	8.8	0.0	0.0	9.1	3.0	0.0
5-6	40	61.5	28.2	12.5	28.2	17.5	17.9	37.5	15.4	7.7
7-8	23	59.1	60.9	26.1	65.2	65.2	60.9	43.5	43.5	17.4

Note: Teachers reported number of hours spent on each topic.

the only three items rated by a majority of second grade teachers as more important than basic subjects (reading and arithmetic) were the law, the policeman, and the child's obligation to conform to school rules and laws of the community. In the United States teachers of children in the early grades believe that in social studies, their major task is to socialize children into obedience; this stress continues throughout the elementary school years. At least with respect to verbal concurrence on the part of the children, this seems quite effective. For example, only 6% of a pilot group chose the alternative "I would not do it" when asked what they would do if a policeman was wrong in what he told them to do. The flexibility of authority structures in reaction to independence-seeking in older children, however, is not so clear. It is likely that failures in compliance socialization are the fault of children's experiences outside the teacher-as-giver-of-information model of socialization. Children have experience outside of the classroom which needs to be explored and understood within some adult relationship, rather than denied its impact. By ignoring such dimensions of children's experience, teachers lose much of their opportunity for dealing with material with built-in motivational relevance for children.

In addition to socializing children to compliance, teachers seem to feel considerable responsibility for teaching children about the ideal norms of democracy. (see also Newman, 1968.) The degree to which the teacher attempts to inculcate ideal norms (paying less attention to the realities of political life) depends upon her own perception of the readiness of her students. For example, only 18% of second grade teachers reported that they pointed out both good and bad aspects in presenting material about the country; 68% of seventh and eighth grade teachers reported this more critical position. It is probably true that even at the later grades teachers do not express reservations they may have about the fallibility of the government. There is a large difference between eighth graders and teachers in agreement with the item, "What goes on the the government is all for the best." (Table 4) Likewise, in judging whether governemntal officials ever make mistakes, young children have greater faith in infallibility than older children or teachers (Table 5). Both this study and that of Jennings conclude that the schools foster the development of basic trust in the political system--this is particularly true for the federal government (the level in which high school students reported the greatest trust, Jennings and Niemi, 1968 ; Langton and Jennings, 1968).

The influence of pressure groups (lobbies, and special interest groups) upon public policy is one of the realities of political life that teachers consider in very limited ways. Older students attributed power to the average citizen which was equivalent or superior to the influence wielded by big companies, rich people, churches and newspapers. Level of response from the fourth to the eighth grade was quite similar. Apparantly children retain the belief that our democracy is a directly participant one where the average citizen individually can have an effect. Teachers who were surveyed

Table 4

Changes by Grade in Agreement That "What goes on in the government is all for the best."

Grade	N	Percentage Agreeing
3	1368	90.7
4	1511	92.8
5	1619	89.7
6	1575	86.0
7	1506	81.4
8	1503	76.1
Teachers	341	45.5

Table 5

Changes by Grade by Perception of Infallibility of President, Senator, and Supreme Court

(Percentage Choosing Alternative "Never Makes Mistakes" for each of three figures)

	N	(Percentage Choosing Alternative "Never Makes Mistakes")	
Grade	President	Senator	Supreme Court
4	37.6	22.7	30.4
5	25.3	13.6	29.0
6	18.6	9.5	28.7
7	13.8	5.2	23.4
8	10.0	3.5	22.6
Teachers	1.6	0.0	14.2

Note -- N's for students at each grade range from 1695 to 1803 for teachers from 367 to 373.

Table 6

Changes by Grade in Rating the Influence Upon Legislation of Groups and Individuals
(Percentages choosing "very much" or "some" influence)

Grade	Rich People	Unions	Newspapers	Churches	Big Companies	Average Person
4	68.5	89.1	64.0	66.0	71.2	63.0
5	63.8	89.6	56.7	63.0	68.5	65.0
6	63.1	87.9	54.4	55.7	65.2	61.3
7	62.5	86.5	59.0	55.8	65.5	60.0
8	67.1	87.3	67.4	55.5	66.3	66.9
Teachers	90.5	97.0	92.0	61.7	95.4	76.1

Notes: Items rated for each person and group: How much do these people help decide which laws are made for our country? (1) Very much; (2) some; (3) very little; (4) not at all.

N's range from 1141 to 1703 for students at each grade level and from 368 to 376 for teachers.

attributed more power to all agencies, but especially to rich people, big business, and newspapers in their influence upon "laws made for our country" than did eighth graders (Table 6).

Our curriculum information suggests that the role of pressure groups in determining governmental process is handled only in a limited way by the teacher in the classroom. It is also true that children are not ready, in the sense of their cognitive level, to absorb information which contrasts too sharply with the ideal norms of democracy that they have learned (e.g., that the average voter rules the country).

A number of types of political participation similar to the political participation of adults, were observed to increase with age in the children surveyed. They were asked to indicate whether they had talked with parents and friends about candidates and about our country's problems. There was a striking increase over the elementary grades in the proportion reporting three types of discussion (Table 7). It is interesting to note that children's interest is mobilized at an earilier age by candidates than it is by abstract problems. Other types of political activity like taking sides on political issues, and wearing campaign buttons showed similar kinds of growth patterns.

To summarize the most striking similarities and differences between eighth graders and teachers, the two groups were much alike in their beliefs about the ideal situation with respect to the power of an individual in a democracy, in their ratings of authority figures, and on many other attitudes and statements making up the

TABLE 7

Changes by Grade in Participation in Three Types of Political Discussion
(Percentages reporting discussions with parents and with friends on candidates and country's problems)

Grade	Total N Responding	Percentages
3	1633	26.8
4	1714	33.0
5	1793	50.8
6	1737	58.8
7	1706	63.3
8	1687	64.6

Note: Item--I have talked with my mother or father about our country's problems--(1) Yes; (2) No; I have talked with my friends about a candidate; I have talked with my mother or father about a candidate.

bulk of the political attitudes tested. They differed in their view of the realities of political life--the teachers being more willing to admit that what goes on in the government may not be all for the best and more ready to recognize the role of pressure groups and special interests in the formation of legislation. There was also a tremendous difference between teachers and eighth graders in the amount of reported interest in government and in the concern expressed with political issues. This suggests that the socialization which occurs in elementary school in anticipation of political adulthood is primarily concerned with the acceptance of beliefs about how a citizen should act, and positive feelings toward the country and toward the representatives of law. Facts about the realities of political life and the skills and resources necessary to exert political influence or analyze political issues are considered only in a rudimentary way. We infer this both from data about the curriculum emphasis and from teacher-eighth grader similarities in attitude.

Jaros (1968) has even more straightforward data on this point from interviews with teachers who were asked what they would say when students inquired about a citizen's competence to produce changes, the importance of party activity, citizen's civic obligations. He also concluded that teachers are more likely to stress the abstract obligation to participate than they are to discuss effective ways of making influence felt.. (See also Shaver, 1965; Newmann, 1968; Massialus, 1967.)

We can only speculate about the reactions of students when they realize that there are some unfair laws, occasional corrupt or incompetent actions by governmental officials, greater governmental concern for the opinions of rich people than for those of the average citizen. It is probably true that many of them feel confused and incapable of assimilating information contrary to the ideal tenets of democracy which the early years at home and at school have imparted. To retain an ideal about the way the world ought to be and yet consider information which is contrary requires a cognitive and emotional maturity. However, it is our feeling that the disillusionment which is produced when these verbally confirmed ideals appear to be violated may be considerably more destructive than an initial representation more balanced with respect to the realities of political life would be. This is not to suggest that a bleak view of the country and its government be presented to first graders. Rather it is suggested that children can be taught to accept the basic tenets of American democracy including established governmental processes without necessarily believing that all government action on issues of public policy is infallible. Wherever possible the distinction between the legitimacy of institutions and the fallibility of particular decisions should be made. The more this point of view can be expressed, the better prepared a child will be to cope with fallible governmental action which he is sure to encounter as an adult. Consensus among the citizenry about the basic value of American democracy need not be challenged, but a broader consideration of the diversity of opinion on public issues will better prepare the child for active citizenship as an adult. Likewise, children can learn that diversity or differences between the ways people go about solving their problems (approaches used by people in different cultures or countries, for example) may be valuable for others without implying lesser value of American ways for this country.

The Development of Attitudes Toward Elections and Political Parties

Attitudes toward voting and elections as legitimate methods for the citizen to influence the government give more information about the amount of power children feel that citizens have. Children as they grow up are exposed to direct and indirect socialization regarding the methods for exercising power available to a citizen. We may divide these influence processes into those within legitimately recognized structures (voting, writing letters to Congress) and those outside (refusing to obey laws perceived as unjust, resorting to violent action). The political demonstration which has become so familiar in the last five years was nearly unknown at the time of the nationwide testing reported here. However, interview material gathered in late 1967 gives an interesting contrast between the perception of voting as the only method of citizen participation and other routes to this influence:[1] A 12 year old girl has a very passive view of citizen influence:

I: How about the citizens in this country--what sort of power do they have over what the government does?

S: Not very much. I don't know very much about this stuff.

I: How can they exercise this power?

S: Complain to the courts.

I: Does one citizen alone have a lot of this power?

S: No, only a little. One citizen out of a million trillion doesn't have very much power.

The perception of violence as a method of influence is not characteristic, but it is not absent. A 9 year old girl answered:

I: Are there some things that the government does that citizens shouldn't meddle in?

S. Yes, when the Mayor and President have to work together, the President and Mayor should work alone and then decide. And then if the people don't like it, they can riot or something.

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[1] Interviews collected by Illinois Institute of Technology students as part of a psychology class project.

Finally, there is a 12 year old boy who sees considerable action outside the governmental structure and in reaction against it:

> I: How about the citizens in this country--what sort of power do they have over what the government does?
>
> S: They riot if they don't like it; they burn draft cards--the hoodlums, beatniks and hippies; they have demonstrations and peace marches.
>
> I: Does it help if a citizen gets together with others?
>
> S: It helps if he gets together with others because they can rally and get more attention and possibly it will go through.
>
> I: Are there some things the government does that citizens shouldn't meddle with?
>
> S: Yes.
>
> I: Like what?
>
> S: Taxes, because they have no other choice.

Attitudes toward political influence taken in these terms vary widely even within children of a given age. But the distinction between techniques of influence which are within the structure and those which are outside is fruitful. Techniques which lie in between voting and rioting--techniques like pressure group membership, exercise of power through personal positions of influence, peaceful but concerted protest--seem unknown to most children. It is this gap about which we have particular concern. When children realize that because of the complexity and size of the system an individual citizen's voting and writing to the President cannot have an effect unless he gathers together with others, he appears to be lost and disillusioned. When this illusion of personal clout is abandoned, one of the reactions may be severe frustration and anger at having been misled. Children have differing capacities to deal with contradictions between the ideals they have been taught and their perceptions of reality. A ten year old daughter of one of the authors recently wrote a letter to a local political official protesting what she considered to be an unfair law:

> You may think this is a fan letter, but it is the opposite. I have seen that you have made a law or like a law that people cannot protest. Ever since I was in the first grade I heard in school that this is a free country, and people can say what they want. If this is a law now you should tell all the teachers not to say that. Not only are you hurting all the adults, you are confusing all the children.

She could not believe that an adult would knowingly violate the ideal of free speech as she saw it; if the law was to stand, she wanted to be sure that teachers would modify their teaching about democratic ideals accordingly so as not to confuse the pupils. She was actually expressing a very strong concern over gaps between the ideals of democratic government and realities in the exercise of power which she saw.

Children's conceptions of the role elections and elected officials play in social change is illustrated by Table 8. Older children are much more likely to see elections as forces for social change and less likely to see candidates motivated toward preserving the status quo. Teachers represent an acceleration of this tendency. This information supplements the impression gained from children's response to statements like "what goes on in the government is all for the best." Although not actually becoming cynical about political motivation, children do appear to become more realistic about governmental process as they grow older.

Table 8

Changes by Grade in Perception of the Reason Candidates Seek Office
(Percentages for each labeled alternative)

Grade Level	N	To Change Things That are not Good in Government	To Make a Lot of Money or be Important	To Keep Things as Good as they are in our Country
3	1646	15.1	18.2	66.7
4	1715	17.8	15.7	66.5
5	1780	23.6	14.6	61.8
6	1735	28.1	15.3	56.6
7	1700	34.9	17.0	48.1
8	1674	36.9	20.4	42.7
Teachers	380	59.0	18.2	22.9

Note--Item: Many people would like to be President, a Senator, or a Mayor. Why do you think these people would like to have these jobs?

Children seem to vascillate between minimizing or denying conflict when they view the political world and admitting, with almost a shrug of the shoulders, to the existence of violent conflict. As the following interview with a ten year old suggests, with the exception of elections, which are seen as legal and well regulated conflict, children have great difficulty separating ideological disagreement from the possibility of violent action:

> I: What about elections? Do people sometimes disagree then?
>
> S: Not really. If they vote for someone else, they still don't hate the other guy.
>
> I: If there is a disagreement, what is it likely to be?
>
> S: I don't know.
>
> I: Are these disagreements a good thing?
>
> S: No, they may start a fight or riot or something like that.

This lack of demarcation in the child's mind between conflict and overwhelming aggressive action is one of the most crucial areas for further study in political socialization. Because children are taught little during elementary school about the existence of conflict or about effective, peaceful means within the system for progress toward its solution, it is not surprising that this ill-defined feeling about conflict exists.

Although political parties are appropriate mobilizers of conflict within the political system, few children seem to recognize this. Through several decades of research in political science, the importance of the family in transmitting political party identification has been stressed. In the data on sibling pairs, collected as part of the study reported here, there was evidence of similarity within families only in children's reported preference for a given political candidate (and presumably in the associated political party label they would choose for themselves). However, clear ideas about the functions of political parties and about the proper form and amount of individual partisan participation were not similar within sibling pairs.

Because of this limitation of family influence, it is appropriate to look into the school setting for patterns of teacher-eighth grader similarity in political party attitudes. Judgments of whether a citizen should support a political party change over the elementary grades and become fairly close to the attitudes reported by teachers. Curriculum information indicates also that mention of political parties and pressure groups within the classroom begins late in elementary school. (See Table 3.) The questionnaire included the child's own partisan identification as well as his attitudes toward the existence of parties. There is a change with age in the reported type of partisan commitment when a child is asked to predict his behavior if he were old enough to vote. Children in the group tested who had made a partisan decision were about equally attracted to the Democratic and Republican parties. But the proportion of children who reported independence of partisan commitment ("sometimes a Democrat, sometimes a Republican") increased with age through the eighth grade and was still higher among teachers. This suggests that teachers may be valuing for children a tenuous kind of party identification and perhaps socializing them to the idea that political parties are not useful mobilizers of conflict. Jennings and Niemi (1968) found similar tendencies in their high school data.

From some points of view, socialization to independence from political partisanship appears to be a valuable thing. However, children do not seem to be learning concurrently about how to obtain information to determine the best candidate running in an election. Less than fifteen percent of the children in all grades reported that they would use newspapers, magazines, T.V. or radio as sources of information in making up their mind. Parents were used extensively for advice, but for older children the alternative "I would make up my own mind" was chosen by about half of the students. They seemed to be gaining only limited skills in understanding the basis for valid candidate preference, merely believing in the negative value of political party affiliation and in the positive value of asserting one's own point of view. Suffice it to say also that whatever the ideal situation with regard to political parties, they, in fact, exert a determining force on the shape of American politics. When children discount this, they are less effectively prepared as participants in the political process.

To determine the realism in children's view of the relationship between political parties and issues, a list of issues (e.g., helping people who are out of work, helping rich people, keeping us out of war), was also given, and children were to indicate whether the Democrats or the Republicans did more to resolve the issue. The overwhelming response on every issue was that both political parties did the same. This lack of differentiation between parties was even more characteristic of older children than of younger children. It was not until grade 8, for example, that any substantial proportion of children saw the Democrats as more concerned with problems of unemployment and the Republicans with the wishes of the more fortunate. There was a sizeable difference between teachers and eighth graders on these items. Children also appear to have a negative view of disagreement between political parties. Greenstein (1965) found that only half of the eighth graders he interviewed could suggest a single difference between the political parties. The differences which were suggested were oriented to differences in the candidate supported rather than ideological differences. Jennings and Niemi (1968) present data pointing to the conclusion that the meaning of partisan issue support becomes classified during the high school years.

It appears that ideas about how strongly one should support political parties may be influenced by teachers; the particular direction of partisan commitment (Democratic or Republican) is more influenced by the family. Teachers impress upon children children that good citizens consider candidate qualifications above partisan orientations (though the teachers themselves are somewhat reticent to discuss the candidate qualifications related to their own choices). This may be another situation where the agents of socialization stress the ideal operation of the system (free from partisan tarnish and conflict) without suggesting to the children necessary ways of coping with the real world they may subsequently face. Children's uncertainty about where to turn for information about candidates and rejection of media information as well as influence from parents or teachers, suggests that they are absorbing an ideal of independence without the necessary support to maintain behavior fulfilling this ideal. Children in school particularly need to learn about effective channels for information and for action which has a reasonable probability of producing change.

Teachers probably have three options in dealing with partisan issues in the classroom: to avoid the discussion of partisan issues and even the existence of political parties; to present their own partisan position and its justification and arrange for those with opposite viewpoints to present theirs; to socialize children toward the belief that parties should demand only token allegiance. Zeigler (1967) reports from a study of the political attitudes of high school teachers that only twenty seven percent thought it proper during a Presidential election to explain to the class the reasons for their candidate preference. This is supporting material from our curriculum questionnaire indicating that many teachers in the United States take the option of avoiding classroom discussion of partisan issues. Discussion of partisan conflict is closely related to a consideration of political and social conflict in general. The evaluation of the various options needs to be made along several dimensions. In view of the variety and unusual nature of certain assumptions which children make about the social world, some informal assessments of the children's current opinions about conflict are needed. For example, how close to the surface is the child's understanding that conflict exists between groups as well as between individuals? In particular, what kinds of assumptions does the child make about the participants in conflict situations? Must one party always be right, the other wrong? Does the child resort to violence as a solution (either casually stated or with an understanding of its implications)? Can he view the process of conciliation and negotiation on a non-violent basis? Does discussion of conflict in the classroom produce inner stress so that children express underlying personal conflict by an increase in horseplay or mischief? The teacher who has assessed these factors is in a better position to predict the results of further discussion of political and social conflict.

The decision about discussing political and social conflict cannot, of course, be based solely upon factors operating within the classroom. Even in those communities where partisan divisions are not particularly deep, teachers may face criticism for presenting their own partisan position. However, teachers will often be able to stimulate discussion among the students about the implications of differences of opinion--between parents and teachers, between political parties, for example. This discussion can be focussed in two directions. First, it is advantageous if children can gain a general appreciation of the value of diversity in opinion and, in particular, an understanding of the democratic values which encourage active citizen concern with government and allow the peaceful expression of dissent over public policy. Second, children actually need to be taught the skills of analyzing issues. Oliver and Shaver (1966) indicate that skills in the analysis of public controversy can be taught by analyzing cases in terms of value conflict expressed, finding analogous value conflicts in other situations, and the testing of factual assumptions behind value positions. Their case methods were tested with high school students, but could be adapted for use with younger children.

Agents of Political Socialization

To this point the focus has been a description of the change occurring with age in elementary school children along with brief considerations of the roles played by the schools in this process. Having indicated that this is an important period in the formation of political attitudes (defined broadly),[1] it is important to indicate also the factors which produce differences between children in the types of attitudes held and to summarize the ways in which teachers and parents participate in the socialization process.

In order to assess the influence of the family upon political socialization, we compared the similarity in attitudes between siblings from the same family with the similarity between unrelated children matched in pairs in every way except actually being from the same family. We found that siblings were likely to show great similarity only in their attitudes toward political parties (as indexed by their professed candidate orientations). In other more general political opinions (such as those presented in the preceding pages) siblings were no more similar than were matched children from different families. This suggests that family transmission of attitudes is strongest in the areas of partisanship and candidate preference.

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[1] Jennings and Niemi (1968b) argue for the importance of the high school as well. Although this is undeniable, there is some indication that the growth of general political attitudes (community and government support) is particularly rapid up to about age 15 (see also Adelson and O'Neil, 1966).

Jennings and Niemi (1968a) in a study of high school student similarity to their parents also found that correlations are highest for political party preference and lower for attitudes toward partisan issues (especially more abstract issues). The modest nature of the correlation between parent and child attitudes in areas other than political party affiliation led them to several explanations of the "slack" in the value acquisition process. They recognized instability or low saliency of some of the attitudes to parents as well as life cycle differences.

Two other sources of important family influence which may not be reflected by exact similarity of attitudes within families deserve consideration. The family participates as one of a set of institutions that suggest, orient, and reinforce the child's earliest loyalty to his country, obedience to law, and respect for authority. It appears likely that for most children these attitudes are held with conviction throughout life because so many of the vital persons in the child's early life agreed upon the importance of these attitudes, i.e., they are supported with great consensus. Relationships between social class and children's political attitudes may also be mediated through family experiences.

There have been several attempts to determine the major locus of political socialization--the role of the school, the family, the peer group, the mass media; all of the agents are important. Table 9 indicates the relative importance that children attribute to each of these agents in teaching young people to be good citizens.

Table 9

Rankings of Children's Perceptions of the Influence of Socializing Agents Upon Learning the Role of Citizens (All Grades Combined)

Figure	Percentage choosing "Teaches me a lot" or "Teaches me an awful lot"	N (grades 3-8)
Teacher	79.5	10,319
Mother	73.4	10,269
Clergyman	72.7	10,139
Father	70.8	10,245
Books, Magazines, Newspapers	41.8	10,294
Television	25.7	10,287
Friends	11.0	10,304

Note--Item: How much does ________ teach you about being a good citizen?

The ranking of these figures was relatively stable across different grade levels--teacher, parents, and clergymen being rated as having great influence, books and other printed media somewhat less influence, television still less, and friends least of all.

In answering this question, children may be focusing upon the adjective which modifies good citizen and reporting those agents that they see concerned for moral goodness rather than those they see concerned with citizenship defined in relationship to government. Even taking this into consideration, it is clear that the teacher and the parents are perceived as major agents of citizenship socialization; media with whom the child cannot have any interactive relationship are seen as less important.

A full understanding of the role of various socialization agents requires an understanding of those attitude areas where parents hold attitudes different from teachers (political party preference, attitudes toward specific aspects of public policy). and those areas where attitudes are presented to the child with considerable consensus (. loyalty toward America, need for obedience to laws). The balance between consensus and disagreement in any political culture has an influence upon the stability of that political system; a country where rural and urban interests, or Western and Eastern interests disagree about major issues finds itself with particular difficulties in socializing its children. It would be shortsighted to ignore the media as sources of information (particularly about social problems, conflict, and aspects of the real-life operation of the political system). Though children do not rank television high on their list of sources, this may be related to their perception of the question as oriented toward positive moral and civic behavior (like being obedient) which is not a major concern of television.

Although there was little difference between second and eighth graders in these ratings of agents of citizenship training, there was some social class variation with interesting implications. Children from families where the father was an unskilled worker were somewhat more likely to report that teachers taught them more about citizenship than their fathers did (Table 10). We may conclude tentatively from this that the role of the school in transmitting political attitudes is more critical in children of lower social status than chidlren from more privileged backgrounds.

Table 10

Relative Importance of Father and Teacher in Citizenship Training by Social Status

(Percentage of Children in all Grades Falling into each of three categories)

Status	N	Father more than Teacher %	Both the same %	Teacher more than Father %
Lower	2386	17.3	39.0	43.8
Middle	4853	21.8	40.3	37.9
Upper	2962	27.3	44.7	28.0

Note: Difference between rating given father and given teacher on item How much does ________ teach you about being a good citizen

Langton and Jennings, (1965) also studied the specific effect of the high school curriculum (measured by the number of American government courses taken). Relationship for which students. between number of courses and attitudes were generally slight though in the predicted direction. (History courses seemed unrelated to attitude formation). For Negro students, however, the number of courses taken showed a somewhat more pronounced relationship to attitude. Those coming from families of low education level were likely to express positive attitudes if they had been enrolled in these classes and unlikely to express them if they had not been enrolled. Increased loyalty rather than heightened political participation seemed to be the result of this civic education for minority students.

These findings are somewhat similar to Table 10 (though the Hess and Torney study included no Negroes). For middle class, white students there is considerable overlap between school civic training and home training--redundancy is the result. For lower status and minority group students, the school, through high school, appears to be a vital source of training for citizenship (loyalty and participation). It is of no value to point out to students that they are ill-prepared by home training for citizenship. More ways of understanding the values which those students bring to the classroom and how these may be transformed and translated into what might be called citizenship values is a crucial task for the next phase of research. Unless a link can be forged to utilize the time with these students maximally, they and we will fall further and further behind.

Most important in concluding this section is to point out that the socialization which takes place within the school occurs in a number of ways. Children accumulate facts--the prescribed procedure by which bills become laws, the number of branches of government. They also identify with the behavior and attitudes of their teachers, imitating directly or indirectly attitudes which are expressed within the classroom. They also acquire role behavior which is structured by the demands of the school situation--the role of student. When they move out from this context, they are likely to apply what they have learned about being an obedient student or about the locus of initiative in an authority relationship (with the adult or the child). When dealing with children, it is also important to keep in mind that all input is modified, and interpreted in a way consistent with the child's cognitive level and style.[1] Taken from this point of view, when the school operates as an agent of socialization, the teacher is serving as a manager of an educational experience or educational envoronment. The teacher's role in this situation becomes far more than that of a dispensor of information. One of her tasks is to be aware of all the possible influences which could operate in the direction of stated goals and to manage these various factors so as to maximize their effects. Sometimes this requires materials to stimulate children's interaction with each other; sometimes it requires decisions about grouping children to work together; sometimes it requires taking a chance on some particular line of discussion which mobilizes the child's attention. These are all things which can be done in the most modern concrete enviornment or in the oldest school in the city. The educational environment is basically a psychological one not a physical one.

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[1] The operation of these four processes is considered at greater length in the section on Models of the Political Socialization Process.

Characteristics of Children Which Influence the Political Socialization Process

In addition to the most commonly discovered relationships between grade in school and political learning, considerable effort has been expended by many investigators to delineate the relationship between various aspects of political attitudes and social class membership, intelligence, sex, and religious affiliation.

Social class differences have been a focus of political scientists interested inadult political behavior and in childhood socialization. Greenstein (1965), for example, concluded that lower status children in the crucial years of late elementary school are less likely to begin to feel that "political choices are theirs to make." (Greenstein, 1965, p.106) Others, like Jaros (1967) found few social class differences and not many more racial differences. Because of the importance we attributed to the school, it was our feeling that children's cognitive ability (intelligence) could not be ignored, and that in fact some differences observed in children from different social class backgrounds might be more readily explained on the basis of lesser ability to deal cognitively with the complexities of the political system. Because it was important not to confuse the effect of social background and intelligence, each of these variables was held constant while the effects of the other were examined.

Most of the differences between children of different intelligence levels were considerable, even when social class was held constant. At grades 7 and 8 there was a greater difference between IQ groups than that existing at the earlier grade levels, suggesting that the gap between the social learning of bright and less bright children widens as they grow older. (This is similar to the gaps in achievement scores which have also been found to be greater for older children.) In almost all of the data on political attitudes, the older children of high intelligence more closely approximated the attitudes of teachers than did children of lower intelligence. Children of high intelligence excel over those who are less bright in their ability to conceptualize the government on a basis other than personal; they are more capable of seeing governmental institutions and processes in their proper role rather than focusing on a person like the President.

Moving to attitudes toward political life, each number in Table 11 represents the percentage of seventh and eighth grade children in the given social class and IQ group who agreed with the statement "what goes on in the government is all for the best."[1]

Table 11

Differences by Social Class and Intelligence in Agreement that "What goes on in the government is all for the best."

(Percentages of seventh and eighth graders who agreed)

	Lower Status	Middle Status	Upper Status
Low IQ	85.5%	85.2%	76.1%
Medium IQ	80.0	80.6	77.6
High IQ	66.2	72.2	65.2

Note: N's for each social class by IQ grouping range from 74 to 501.

About forty-five percent of the teachers agreed with this statement. For this attitude statement, the differences between children of different social status levels were relatively small; the differences between children of different intelligence levels were larger.

Similar trends were observed in the percentage of seventh and eighth grade children in the given social class and IQ groups who answered that "people run for office in order to change things that are not good in our government." On this item also the differences in response were more pronounced between different IQ groups than for different social status groups. Brighter children in all social classes are more likely to see the need for change as a reason motivating candidates to seek public office. In general, children of lower ability are more satisfied with the status quo and see candidates as more paternalistic. This corrobonates the finding of Litt (1963) who reported results from several attitude scales administered to high school students before and after the use of a civic curriculum designed to increase citizen participation. In some areas, there was evidence that differences in attitude associated with economic status were decreased; however, conceptions of the citizen's role in influencing government, sense of political efficacy, and political activities were particularly resistant to change. The working class students, although equivalent to students from higher status levels, in their acceptance of democratic principles, perceived politics as being conducted by formal institutions working in harmony for the benefit of all and needing little control or assistance from citizens.

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[1] Tables for grades 3-6 would have been highly similar in direction of difference though in some cases lessened in magnitude. For a more detailed graphic presentation of social class and IQ differences see Hess & Torney (1967)

The earlier recognition of the fallibility of government on the part of brighter students may validate the suggestion made earlier that part of the motivation for current student unrest, spreading even into the high schools, is the realization by brighter students of the gap between the ideals of democratic government and some of the public policies they see enacted.

This heightened sensitivity on the part of brighter students to fallibility and flaws seemed in 1962 to be reflected in somewhat accelerated participation in political discussion by these children. Table 12 compares the percentage of seventh and eighth grade children in the given social class and IQ groups who reported that they had engaged in three types of political discussion with friends and family.

Table 12

Differences by Social Class and Intelligence in Reporting Three Types of Political Discussion

(Percentage of seventh and eighth graders reporting talking with family about countries' problems and candidates and with friends about candidates)

	Lower Status	Middle Status	Upper Status
Low IQ	53.0%	54.9%	65.0%
Medium IQ	57.8	62.9	71.5
High IQ	67.9	73.8	79.1

Note: N's for each social class by IQ grouping range from 81 to 556.

The differences in percentages/of ~~to~~ active discussants when social class groups are compared and the differences when IQ groups are compared are similar magnitude. In other words, both social status membership and intelligence seem to have an impact on the likelihood of participation in political discussion. When compared with lower status, children from upper status homes report more discussion with parents and friends on these topics. This may be because their parents are more interested in politics and are more willing to talk with their children about these topics. The explanation for the fact that brighter children are more likely to be active participants rests on two assumptions: first, that they are more likely to have learned that the good citizen should participate; second, that they lack a belief in the infallibility of government and hold a belief that public policy requires active citizen vigilance for change. Therefore, they are more motivated to discuss politics. Patterns of social class and intelligence group differences like this were observed at all grade levels in the majority of the measures of participant orientation toward government.

Although important differences between social status groups were delineated for some items, differences in intelligence within social class groups were considerably more pronounced. Within the field of social attitudes the dimension of cognitive ability has not been adequately studied in its influence upon socialization. We do not conclude that these signs of inferior socialization are genetically determined. Rather, our conclusion is that better method of presenting material must be devised for the socialization of children of limited cognitive ability who have not been prepared at home, and these methods must be graded to make them appropriate for the readiness level of these children. This is a particular problem in matching instruction to individual differences (see concluding chapter of this volume). The preparation which is lacking in children of limited cognitive ability has to do in part with inability to see situations as having more than concrete and immediate meaning, seeing only a small part of the situation and or seeing only their own perspective on the situation assuming it to be the whole. Although it may be possible to inculcate in these children appropriate feelings of patriotism as easily as in other children, it is more difficult to teach them to analyze issues to understand the times when citizen participation is required, and to acquire important skills of participation. It is also more difficult to involve them in discussions of issues because they do not understand them. The author has been impressed recently with the potential in many cities for constructing study units based on current situations of controversy within the city (even within the inner-city). Such local curriculum is more likely to mobilize the interest of less able children because they are more likely to actually know the participants and the locals.

It may be possible to produce the same kind of interest by using national events which are sufficiently contemporary to give the child a feeling of familiarity at least by way of television. Curriculum and pedagogical practices which match cognitive level may need to focus on precursors of attitudes and skills--for example, the ability to analyze all human situations in terms of non-personal factors, or explicit training in looking at personal authority relationship from diverseviewpoints role playing and simulation techniques may be particularly useful.

In some cases improved socialization of this type may even be a factor in increasing performance on standardized IQ measures.

Another major set of differences observed in levels of socialization was between the political attitudes of boys and girls. Sex differences in level of a political activity have been repeatedly documented in adults; their direction in children will be only briefly summarized. Girls in the group tended to personalize the system more and perceive institutions and processes like voting as less important. This may result from a transfer to the political realm of sex role characteristics learned in the contexts of school, family, and peer group. For example, in general girls have been found to be more oriented to interpersonal matters and less toward abstractions. There were few sex differences in acceptance of norms and ideals about the political system, where the school appears to socialize boys and girls to similar levels. However, boys did appear to be more oriented toward needed change and less orientated toward maintaining the status quo than did girls. Boys in the group also displayed more active and participant concern with political issues than did girls, especially in partisanship and taking sides on politically conflictual issues. These differences follow both reported general research into sex differences and common sense. (Greenstein, 1965).

Analysis of the relationship religious affiliation, peer group participation, and Democratic-Republican partisan affiliation suggests that these variables have influence on only a limited (though predictable) set of items. Catholic children were more likely to report Democratic Party allegience; children who belong to many school organizations are also more likely to report political activities; children reporting Democratic preference were happier about Kennedy's election than were Republican.

Models of Socialization Process

In addition to interest in describing the attitudes common among children, there has been considerable concern with the process by which political socialization occurs and why certain situations and characteristics of children modify it.

Before it will be possible to predict or modify the results of political socialization it will be necessary to develop more adequate models to understand how this socialization has occurred in the past and how it is occurring today.

Only a program that considers questions of process can effectively modify methods of teaching. Socialization is theory often reduced to theories borrowed directly from the way adults learn verbal material by rote. We need to understand the "how" of political socialization so as to be more conscious of the ways in which the teacher, the T.V. producer, the public official, and the parent can participate in this vital form of education for the future. This is necessary even though the particular characteristics of that political future cannot be foreseen. We have proposed four models for accounting for different aspects of the process of political socialization. These models differ in several ways. There are variations in the degree to which the agent or person who is the source of information or attitude intends to socialize the child and in the degree to which the material presented is organized and consistent for the child with other aspects of his behavior and attitudes.

The first model, the Accumulation Model expresses the implicit assumption of many teachers and parents, that if children are simply exposed to symbols, ideas, and attitudes frequently they will accumulate them (and presumable use and express them when it is appropriate for them to do so). This process certainly accounts for a large part of political socialization, (particularly learning about the factual structure of the government--How many member there are in Congress), but it is insufficient to account for all of it.

what is prohibited by local laws

This model assumes that the teacher or parent has basic control of all relevant information and that the major information flow occurs in only one direction. The child's task is mainly to be a passive recipient. This may also be called the "confetti theory" of learning because it does not assume a necessarily consistent relationship between different parts of the child's information. It makes few assumptions about the child's attitudes or needs, as they limit or facilitate learning. This is a comforting theory for some teachers and parents to hold because it suggests a direct relationship between the amount of time spent, the effort expended, the punishment or reward used, and the learning achieved. Because of our realization that the learning process is a complex one to which the child also makes contributions, we cannot rely exclusively on this model.

A second model applies most clearly to acquisition of a political party identification; we have called it the Identification Model. It assumes that the child is copying the behavior particularly of his parents when he chooses over-arching labels (like party) which have a considerable determining effect in adulthood upon issues and candidate preference. The parent may have no intention of transmitting his party or candidate preference to his child. It is important to keep in mind the limited character of elementary school children's political party allegiance to understand our limited reliance on this model. Because of the way in which politically partisan attitudes in children are acquired, they are not always consistently related to candidate preference.

Among political scientists with an interest in this field, however, this type of reasoning about the source of political attitudes is of somewhat more interest (Hyman, 1959; Jennings and Niemi, 1968a; Dawson and Prewitt, 1959). This is in part because these researchers are interested in the continuity from generation to generation of political party membership--something in which teachers have less interest.

One advantage of this model is that it puts stress upon the groups to which one belongs in their influence upon attitudes. For the young child, the family is his most important primary group; so in using the Identification Model it is the influence of parents that we point to most directly. It is their attitudes that the young child is most likely to model. When a child enters elementary school, the teachers become important as figures to be imitated; peers also become crucial reference groups. Every part of the experience they present to the child is available for his imitation--parts which are unintentional as well as pieces of information which they intend for him to copy. The consistency and fidelity of imitation in this process may also be limited by a number of factors.

Attention to this model is particularly important because it suggests the areas in which the school rather than the family bears particular responsibility. Our research results suggest that the family as a source of attitudes for the child to model probably is very important in the school years particularly in focusing the child's candidate loyalty. When we talk about broader aspects of political authority and attitudes toward the proper action citizens should take, groups other than the parents become important. We conclude from the emphasis placed in the curriculum upon various aspects of civics education and from actual changes in children's attitudes toward the political realm, that much change in children's attitudes is stimulated by what occurs in the elementary school classroom. The child is exposed there not only to the prescribed curriculum but to the attitudes of his teacher and of his peers as a point of reference. Some of these attitudes are accumulated directly from experiences designed for learning--others arise in which children emulate the behavior of teachers who are important to them.

A third model, which we have called the Role Transfer Model has a slightly different emphasis from the Identification Model. It arises from the child's needs to feel in control of unfamiliar situations--in other words, with his motivations. Children formulate rules of thumb to use in dealing with the world--they generalize frameworks for approaching new situations. They formulate orientations quickly, relying on previous experience to guide them. This is particularly important in political socialization where many matters of interest to social scientists may not have been considered before by the child. An interview with an eight year old girl illustrates a child's assumption that the political system operates like other systems she knows.

I. What is the government?

S. Oh, it's men, different men.

I. How do they get to be in the government?

S. If a man wants to quit he finds someone elso who can do his job and he gives it to him.

The Role Transfer Model stresses the expectations and behavior that the child possesses as a product of his experience in different roles--a boy or girl child in his family and as a pupil in his school, for example. He brings these motivations and expectations to the current situation, in this case understanding the political system. Roles which have been learned in responding to parental authority are probably used by the child in dealing with the political authority system as well. Children modify, structure and sometimes distort information in accordance with their transferred role experience. This model may be applicable in understanding the assumptions which children make, based often on very vague information. Continuity between past and present behavior, as well as actual similarities between many levels of social authority systems (family, school, and nation) suggest that this model deserves considerable attention. ^ rules and laws - assumptions about human nature

In the classroom this point of view may sensitize the teacher to expectations which her students bring- expectations about her behavior as an authority figure, expectations about the character of rules, expectations about where initiative lies in a relationship with an adult. Mutual expectations are important in the learning of many social roles and they are the basis of children's relation to the political system. To teach children the facts or dates connected with

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American history tells them little about the values and processes which are part of democracy. To impart only slogans to children -- particularly nationalistic ones--is not adequate preparation for active, participant citizenship which occurs in interaction with other people guided by mutual expectations. The teacher as a figure of authority must be aware of the transfer and of the way in which children learn about a political authority system by role expectations acquired in other authority systems like the classroom. — Classroom environments

We cannot be sure of the effect upon children of trying to change their expectations or of failing to fulfill expectations which they have developed. In the past lack of interest in the government and nonvoting, seemed symptomatic of a deep concern with unfulfilled ideals. In the current generation activism and militancy seem to be resulting instead. Young people appear to be transferring more of their disillusionment with democratic ideals into action directed toward all types of authority.

The final model is the Cognitive Model which stresses certain aspects of the older child's increased ability to deal with abstract and complex aspects of the social world. His tendency to see things in a personalized and egocentric fashion declines. This is the model among the four which has the clearest developmental age-related character. One must be aware of the ways in which thought processes of the seven year old differ from those of the fourteen year old. This includes the ways in which the child actually utilizes, transforms, and even misperceives information as well as the way he accurately stores and reproduces it. The child's capacity to reason using certain levels of concepts has an influence upon his socialization. When applied to the classroom this point of view gives clues to stumbling blocks children may experience in the socialization process. For example, the acceptance of the value of disagreement within the nation about matters of public policy requires that children be able to perceive an ideal of government operation and contrast it with the realities of a given practical political situation. Fairness of rules

A number of cognitive-developmental process detailed by the Swiss psychologist, Jean Piaget, are important for understanding this model. (See Flavell, 1963) Although our information does not allow delineation of age bounded stages in children's conceptions of the political world, like much of the work of Piaget and Kohlberg it utilizes developmental concepts like egocentrism, cognitive reversibility, and elaboration in the bases of children's judgment. Adelson and O'Neil's (1966) intensive look into the bases of the political beliefs of adolescents is a clearer example of the use of this model than any of the questionnaire studies. Eleven, thirteen, fifteen, and eighteen year olds were asked to assume that 1,000 people move to an island, and once there, must develop government. They investigators link the differences observed between the youngest and the oldest adolescents with advances in reasoning processes. Younger adolescents are more personal, more concerned with the concrete and visible and less able to see the social and communal consequences of present actions in the future. Adolescents by the age of 15 have usually developed the ability to rationalize decisions in a more coherent fachion.

This model also has implications for the phasing of various parts of children's learning and the matching of instruction to individual differences. What the child is given as raw material to move him to higher levels of socialization needs to be at an optimum level for his readiness. It needs to be at a cognitive level which corresponds to or

Conclusions

The political world is taking shape for the child during the elementary school years within the classroom. Our imaginations are challenged by the many ways in which it is being shaped--by the behavior and attitudes of teachers which children emulate, by experiences outside the classroom which are transferred into the school and solidified by experience there, by the assumptions teachers make about children's ability and attitudes, by particular political issues which have a special interest for children, by the way children are treated as inferiors or as equal in the authority structure. Some of these factors may actually be more important than the traditional curriculum which has been called "unrealistic and redundant" by recent reviewers. (Patrick, 1967) The teacher is being viewed by social scientists as one who structures information for children as well as dispenses it, as a model for imitation rather than as the occupant of a more impersonal role--as the manager of a learning environment.

One of the purposes of the models cited ealier is to point to the wide range of ways in which schools and teachers influence socialization. The dream of some is that future curriculum, research and thought might be guided by models like these--or by more appropriate ones which may be derived from them. Loevinger (1959), considering the theories of child behavior held by parents, has concluded that any theory is better than none since being guided by a theory is likely to keep parents focussed on the socialization process and is likely to prevent them from acting out their own impulses on their children. Proposing these models to be considered teachers who are involved in political socialization in their own classrooms is both to give teachers new perspectives on the precursors of political attitudes in elementary school children and to allow communication between those of diverse disciplinary orientations.

The political world of the child includes many implicit values--many beliefs about what is good and bad--which have a highly emotional character. Many of these have been acquired from civics tests and in the social studies classroom, and not all are fortuitous for the political system. Newman concluded that "misleading concepts of political process" and pride in neutrality on political issues to the neglect of political action characterize much of civics curriculum. (Newman, 1968, p. 538-9). Shaver (1965) and Massialas (1967) arrive at similar conclusions stressing the overreliance upon prescription rather than understanding, upon consensus and rationality rather than controversy and reality. Patrick concludes that "texts represent ethical-legal norms as actual political behavior, thereby confusing what ought to be with what is." (Patrick, 1967)

Many children, for example, carry away from their social studies classrooms, the impression that the majority rules in this country in the style of an early American town meeting. Phrases like "the majority rules" are positively valued by children without any clear understanding of the process by which government policy is shaped. The political world in actuality is not free of conflict, nor should it be in the child's eyes. Neither is it a world lacking in the ideals of democracy, nor should it be. Contrast between realities of political like and ideal prescriptions learned in civics courses may actually account for some of the disillusionment and alienation expressed by young adults protesting against current political structures and governmental policies.

In addition to cynicism arising from discrepancy between the ideal and the reality of political decision making, there is currently a serious attempt on the part of many groups to revise certain aspects of authority relationships. Relationships in which one person has control over another, either personally and directly or through structures of institutions and rules, always have aspects of strain. Freud and his followers have pointed to many of these stresses within the family, the earliest authority system known to the child. Many schools have opted for short run expediency and aimed their civics courses toward the goal of unquestioning obedience to authority by students (see also Patrick, 1967, for evidence on this point).

There is some evidence that students have reacted in this already sensitive area of authority relations against a school power structure which claims to train democratically oriented students within an authoritarian system. Students are, in some cases, demanding power for the sake of overturning authority relationships and in other cases, utilizing power in an exploration of viable ways for the governing of educational institutions by their members.

Reactions of adult members of authority systems to student power often take the form of exhortations to the school to teach more critical thinking, allow less emotionalism. This has been intended as one of the major stresses of social studies. However, considerably more research and effort needs to be expended toward better methods for teaching these abilities and clearer assessments of their effectiveness. In the past, exhortation to think critically has infrequently been followed by any skill development.

A closing of the gap currently existing between the realities of political life and the ideal statement in civics texts is needed. Oliver and Shaver (1966), Fenton (1966) and Mehlinger (1968) represent 3 attempts in this direction. Another possibility, a curriculum supplement for 5th and 6th grade classrooms could be devised locally by committees of teachers. Materials could be based upon local or regional events and decisions where conflict can be seen by the child and methods for its solution could be explored. For example, the child needs to see how a residential community attempts to influence a large corporation which has obtained a building permit for its area or how a school system decides to expand one part of its program at the expense of another. Children need exposure to cases where financial considerations, expert opinions, personal interests of leaders, and organized citizen political power all have influence on the making of a political decision. And children need to realize that when conflict is properly handled, compromise on means may permit a solution to an otherwise irrevocable contrary set of values. Focussing on local issues could also have the advantage of making more visible that part of government operation which is most accessible to the citizen because it is closet to him.

Another level of education which needs revision is the child's approach to the international realm. Here the problem is not a lack of appreciation of conflict by the child but rather an overeliance upon the "Country X versus Country Y" model of international relations.

Disagreement and conflict expressed in war is a major organizing force in the child's understanding of the international system. The source and character of positive feelings about one's membership groups (one's country, those who speak one's language, those who are of the same race) are beginning to be explored (see Torney, Anderson, and Targ, 1969; Torney, 1969) in an attempt to understand how children's visions can be made more broad to include an understanding of those of other countries, languages and races.

There is tremendous variablity in the political attitudes of children--many variations related to intelligence, age, and the other variables indicated in this review. Other sources of difference have not been systematically investigated--though there has been tremendous activity in this field during the last ten years (much of it reprinted in Adler and Harrington, in press).

A basic value of American education is the importance of socializing all children equally to demoratic participation. However, many (including Newmann, 1968) have criticized the insensitivity of most current programs to individual differences. Recently educators like Bloom (1969) have suggested that it may be realistic to expect the large majority of children to achieve mastery of a subject like mathematics (to produce a highly skewed distribution with most students achievers, rather than a normal distribution with equal numbers of high and low achievers). This mastery learning requires individually phased instruction. In the Hess and Torney study (1967) the importance of intelligence in accounting for differences between students in their level of political socialization suggests the need for of curriculum material which presents an optimum step above the student's current level of thought. This is particularly true in teaching children to comprehend power lying with institutions rather than in persons and in teaching them to see alternatives of political action which lie between voting once a year and violent riot. At the present time children of lower ability and social status arrive at adolescence handicapped in their relationship with the political system, not merely in their information about it.

Some of the difficulty which adults experience in understanding the current student movement stems from the time lag between the socialization of basic political values and beliefs (occurring in the late 1950's and early 1960's for most of the students now of college age) and the present actions arising from these values. Likewise there is an ignorance in some cases of the various processes by which attitudes are formed. Changes in the elementary school political socialization process occurring now may be most visible ten years hence.

Although it is not possible to foresee the shape that technology of space travel and worldwide mass communication will place upon the future, a participant citizen who is aware of forces at work in the entire world and free of sterotypes interfering with his understanding is still likely to be in demand. The groundwork for these values and skills is laid in elementary school and built upon in high school. For that reason, socialization research will expand and must begin to have an impact upon practices in classrooms.

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